4:Altschuler E-S (1959-1960) 1965
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of ritual co-parenthood called Compadrazgo. Historically and basically it is concerned with the ritual induction into the Catholic Church of an individual through the rites of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The god-parent stands in the role of sponsor, and in effect gives assurance of good faith on the part of the unbaptised, the unconfirmed, and the betrothed. Compadrazgo relationships are held to be sacred, and the incest taboo is extended to those involved in the ritual co-parenthood and to their descendents. Wherever found, compadrazgo seems to have been accepted with gusto, and there are innumerable variations on the basic theme outlined above. Such flexibility is indeed noteworthy. Mintz and Wolf discuss some of the reasons for the success of this social institution:

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> Compadrazgo, once accepted by a social grouping, can be moulded into the community way of life by many means. It is a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature, on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent and more secure (Mintz and Wolf 1950: 355).

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they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa lawmen to come to grips with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

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Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme:

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The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /ʔaʔi/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /ʔaʔi/ she and the boy were not related.

As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case.

When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Alapa of the Río Canaveras was married to his /ápinatsúhki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio Blanco notified the /ʔaʔi/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes.

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Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the fiesta, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from Sapalio Grande to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Nuru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "they are not very close relatives anyway." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died."

Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, nisra nisra, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candalabo can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalabo had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Ensenada, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río Santiago, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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to his sister.

Here again, Pablo's determination placed him beyond the pale of Cayapa law. His brother-in-law apparently realized the futility of making a public complaint and unburdened himself only at his wife's funeral.

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Adultery. As with incest, decisions rendered in cases of adultery require a firm declaration on the part of the official trying the case that the behavior is abhorrent and sinful; however, the punishment seems to be somewhat more lax than is the case with incest, and more feeling seems to be present that woman are the aggressors in adultery. The following case was witnessed by the writer during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959.

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The philandering captain and his light punishment. The /kapitán/, Gabriel, was in his hammock, quite drunk, and a group of men were standing around him speaking drunkenly in Cayapa. Suddenly, everyone dashed to a corner of the house and looked over to an adjacent dwelling where a fracas was in progress. A woman was beating and berating another woman who offered no

resistance. After a few minutes of severe mauling, a group of women took the aggressor off to one side and listened attentively, while she wailed and shook her fist at the other woman, who remained seated on the floor, alone. The /ʔiⁿlɨ/ was in another part of the room seated on the floor, talking to a young man who was dressed in western clothing, and sporting high-laced boots without the laces. I asked Gabriel to explain what had just taken place, and he replied that nothing serious had happened at all. A woman had complained, he said, that the young fellow had molested her while he was drunk. This was a far-fetched version of what had actually happened as pieced together from the comments of the on-lookers.

The young man was an official of the Punta Venado section. Some people said that he was the /tánda/ 'lieutenant,' and others said that he was the capitán. He, himself, said that he was the capitán. He lived up the Río Onpole, and his duties were to bring culprits to trial and to judge cases with the other officials. He was charged with committing adultery with his /apíⁿa/ 'father's brother's daughter,' who lived in the same

house as he. The fact that they were closely related was not brought up at all, and the adulterous relationship seems to have been uppermost in mind. His wife was the woman who had beat the adulteress. No one seems to have brought forth a specific charge; rather, the state of affairs seemed to have been known to all, and in fact, the adulterous pair knew that they would be punished during the fiesta. The /Gu'l/ stated that they would both have to be punished, that the man should receive ten lashes and the woman fifty. The woman had obviously prepared for this as she was well wrapped in several layers of heavy ceremonial shirts. She was taken next door to the main dwelling where she assumed the position for receiving the blows by bending forward slightly at the waist. The blows were applied heavily by one of the officials in full view of all the interested by-standers. After her punishment the woman left and sat alone in one of the cubicles on the other side of the house, the area used for sleeping. She remained there alone all day long. Eventually the man was brought into the main dwelling. There was a good deal of joking and laughter among him and the other officials. He

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